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A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure

Padre António Vieira, S.J., 1608-1697

By C. R. BOXER
Camoens Professor of Portuguese in the University of London

The Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils
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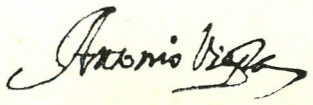
Ao erudito Sr. Prof. Dr. Hélio Viana,
M. Meu maior admirador e menor servo
C. R. Boxer



The portrait of Vieira is reproduced from a nineteenth-century copy in the *Homenagem do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia* (Bahia, 1897) of a seventeenth-century original and the autograph signature from a letter dated Bahia, 10 August, 1688, in the collection of C.R.B.

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C. R. BOXER

Camoens Professor of Portuguese in the University of London

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A GREAT LUSO-BRAZILIAN FIGURE

PADRE ANTÓNIO VIEIRA, S.J., 1608-1697

"NÃO quero ensinar o Padre Nosso ao Vigário", and I do not pretend that this paper contains anything new for Portuguese and Brazilians, although so many-sided a man as Vieira can never make exactly the same impact on any two people. Vieira was recognised as the greatest master of Portuguese prose in his own day and generation, and Fernando Pessoa in ours has called him "O Imperador da lingua Portuguesa". His work as missionary, orator, prophet, diplomat, and statesman, has been frequently discussed (and variously assessed) by some of the most competent writers in the Portuguese-speaking world. But although Vieira is incontestably one of the greatest figures in the history of Portugal and Brazil, as he is certainly one of the most interesting, his name is practically unknown in this country. It was of Vieira that Robert Southey was primarily thinking when he wrote that Portuguese "is a language which is inferior to no modern speech, and which contains some of the most original and admirable works that I have ever perused".[1] Unfortunately, Southey's plea that more of his compatriots should interest themselves in the language of Camões and Vieira still awaits a satisfactory response. I cannot hope to succeed where Southey failed, but today's anniversary provides an excuse for briefly recalling the career of one of the most remarkable Portuguese who ever lived.

Vieira's life-span roughly coincided with the seventeenth century, when the course of events brought about the definitive separation of Portugal from Spain, and ensured that Brazil would not fall, in whole or in part, under Protestant Dutch control, as at one time seemed likely. Vieira took an active and often a leading role in these stirring and momentous events, and on one occasion at

[1] R. Southey, *History of Brazil* (3 vols., London, 1810–1819), ii, 716.

least his intervention was probably decisive. Moreover, his sermons, letters, and state-papers form the best collective source for the understanding of the "climate of opinion" in seventeenth-century Portugal, Brazil and the Maranhão. In an age when the pulpit occupied the place which is filled nowadays by the newspapers, the wireless, and television as moulders of public opinion, Vieira's sermons were among the most famous and influential, nor was their fame confined to Portugal and Brazil.[1] Letter-writers have never been too plentiful in these otherwise admirable countries, and Vieira was not merely a prolific letter-writer, but a highly intelligent and keenly critical observer who frequently wrote at white heat and without reserve. His state-papers on such varied subjects as diplomatic negotiations with the Dutch, Portugal's economic ills and their remedies, toleration for the crypto-Jews or "New-Christians", and freedom for the Amerindians of Brazil, are also models of clear and incisive reasoning, and they invariably excercised great weight in the councils of the Crown. All in all, Vieira ranks as a great historical as well as a great literary figure, and he was certainly the most remarkable man in the seventeenth-century Luso-Brazilian world.[2]

[1] Thomas Maynard, the English consul at Lisbon in 1666, described Vieira as "a Jesuit eminent for his preaching, his sermons being bought up as fast as they are printed, and sent for out of all parts of Spain, Italy and France" (Public Record Office, London, State Papers Portugal, 89/7, fol. 350). The Rev. John Colbatch, who was chaplain of the English "Factory" at Lisbon some thirty years later, wrote of Vieira "that perhaps there never was a preacher so universally, or so highly approved of in Portugal, by all orders and degrees of men" (*An Account of the Court of Portugal*, London, 1700, viii).

[2] For a superb bibliographical survey of the works by and on Vieira see Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (10 vols., Lisboa and Rio de Janeiro, 1938–1950), ix, 192–363. Books and articles on Vieira continue to appear, of which the latest known to me is by Ivan Lins, *Aspectos do Padre António Vieira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1956), and the best by António Sérgio and Hernâni Cidade [eds.], *Padre António Vieira. Obras Escolhidas* (12 vols, Lisboa, 1951–1954) in the *Colecção de Classicos Sá da Costa*, hereafter quoted as *Obras Escolhidas*.

António Vieira was born at Lisbon on the 6 February 1608, in a working-class family of Alemtejan origin. One of his grand-parents was a Mulatto serving-woman, the others being respectively an armourer, a baker-wife, and a manservant of the Counts of Unhão. When six years old he accompanied his parents to Bahia, where his father had been given a small post in the recently established colonial High Court. He remained in Brazil for the next twenty-seven years, and thus grew up in the colony which had already become Portugal's most prized and profitable overseas possession. He went to school at the Jesuit College in Bahia, where he was first impelled towards a religious vocation by hearing a lurid description of the tortures of Hell in a sermon preached in March 1623. He became a novice in the Society a few weeks later, and it was in this capacity that he witnessed the Dutch attack on and occupation of Bahia in the following year. Within a week of the recapture of the colonial capital in May 1625, Vieira took the three ordinary vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and an additional voluntary one pledging himself to missionary work among the Amerindians and the Negro slaves, for which purpose he learnt Tupí-Guaraní and Kimbundu.[1] In the next year he wrote the Jesuit Annual Letter from Brazil which contains a graphic account of the Dutch campaign. This is the earliest of Vieira's surviving writings, and it already displays all the qualities of style, clarity, and crispness which subsequently made him a celebrated writer. Like so much of his work, it is not merely a piece of edifying religious literature, but a first-class historical source for the events which it describes.

Vieira asked his superiors to release him from the long and arduous course of study prescribed for Jesuit priests, so that he could devote his life to missionary work among the

[1] Respectively the *lingua geral* of the Amerindians of coastal Brazil and of the Negro slaves from Angola.

coloured races, but they declined to do this since they realised his exceptional abilities. He taught rhetoric and the humanities for a year in the Jesuit College at Olinda, but was back at Bahia when the Dutch launched their invasion of Northeastern Brazil in 1630. While continuing his theological and philosophical studies, he contrived to do some work in the *aldeias* or mission-villages of the Amerindians near Bahia, and his second recorded sermon was one preached to the Negro slaves of an *engenho* or sugar-mill in the *Reconcavo* in 1633.[1] He was ordained a priest and celebrated his first mass in December of the following year, and he speedily became the most popular preacher in the colony. As such, he took a prominent part in the defence of Bahia against Count Johan Maurits of Nassau in 1638, and was chosen to preach the victory sermon after the Dutch withdrawal.[2] Vieira's sermons during this period are largely and inevitably concerned with the Dutch peril, since about half of Brazil was then in heretic hands, but they are not merely patriotic rhapsodies or empty exhortations to fight the good fight. On the contrary, Vieira trenchantly denounced the corrupt and rapacious colonial officials, and laid bare the causes of the mismanagement of the war. He voiced the complaints of the underfed and underpaid soldiery, observing on one occasion that the King should give the shirt off his back rather than let his infantry in Brazil be so ill-supplied as they were.[3]

Nor were Vieira's criticisms confined to temporal monarchies and to "os poderosos da terra", the great ones of the earth. Perhaps the most famous sermon of the many he preached in the course of sixty years was that delivered at Bahia after the defeat of a combined

[1] *Obras Escolhidas*, xi, 1–46. Cf. Leite, *História*, ix, 201, for the correct priority.
[2] *Obras Escolhidas*, x, 1–41.
[3] *Obras Escolhidas*, x, 101.

Spanish-Portuguese Armada by an inferior Dutch fleet off Pernambuco in January 1640. This sermon "contra as armas de Holanda" was preached to the text of Psalm XLIV, 23: "Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, cast us not off forever", and it has been rightly described by the Abbé Raynal as "the most vehement and extraordinary ever heard in a Christian pulpit". Vieira, addressing God as much in anger as in sorrow, bitterly denounces the Deity for favouring the heretic Dutch at the expense of the Catholic Portuguese, and he urges him to change his mind before it is too late.

"If You were resolved to give these same lands to the pirates of Holland, why did You not do so when they were still wild and uncultivated instead of now? Has this perverse and apostate people rendered You such services that You first sent us here as their harbingers, so that we might cultivate the lands and build the cities for them; and after we had cultivated and enriched the same, hand these over to them? Must heretics and enemies of the Faith thus enjoy the fruits of the work of the Portuguese and of the sweat of Catholic brows? *En queis conservimus agros?*[1] Behold for whom we have worked for so many years!

"But since You, O Lord, wish and ordain it thus, do whatever seems good to You. Give Brazil to the Dutch, give them the Indies, give them the Spains (for the result of the loss of Brazil will be no less perilous), give them whatever we still have and possess (as You have already given them so much), and place the world in their hands. As for us, we Portuguese and Spaniards, abandon us, repudiate us, destroy us, finish us. But I cannot forbear to tell and remind Your Majesty, O Lord, that it may chance one day that You will need these same whom You now spurn and cast from You, and You will then no longer have them. . . .

[1] Cf. Virgil, *Bucolics*, I, lines 71–72.

"Burn, destroy, consume us all, but it may chance one day that You will need Spaniards and Portuguese, and that You will not be able to find them. Holland will give you apostolic conquerors who will carry through the world the standards of the cross; Holland will give You Gospel preachers who will sow the Catholic doctrine in savage lands and water it with their own blood; Holland will defend the truth of Your Sacraments and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church; Holland will build temples; Holland will raise altars, Holland will consecrate priests and will offer the sacrifice of Your most Holy Body; Holland, in short, will serve You and will venerate You as religiously as they do daily in Amsterdam, Middelburg and Flushing, and in all the other colonies of that cold and watery hell!"[1]

The darkest hour proverbially comes just before the dawn, and this sermon which expressed the feeling of many people that "Deus não quer a restauração do Brasil", was preached only a few months before the Lisbon revolution of 1 December 1640. This event ended the so-called "Sixty Years' Captivity" of Portugal to Spain, enthroned the Duke of Braganza as Dom João IV, and led, after some tortuous negotiations, to the conclusion of a ten-year truce with the Dutch. It is a clear indication of the position which Vieira had already achieved at Bahia, that he was selected as a member of the delegation which was sent by the viceroy of Brazil, Marquis of Montalvão, to announce the colony's enthusiastic adherence to the new monarch. Two of Montalvão's sons had fled from Lisbon to Seville shortly after the revolution, and this led to the delegation (which was headed by a third son) being nearly lynched by an angry mob when they landed at Peniche at the end of April 1641. Having been rescued with considerable difficulty, Vieira and his companions were sent to Lisbon, where they were presented to the King.

[1] *Obras Escolhidas*, x, 61–62.

Dom João IV at once fell under the spell of Vieira's self-assured and magnetic personality and within a very short time he came to regard the tall, lean, and dynamic Jesuit as "o primeiro homem do mundo". Vieira repaid him with a passionate devotion which never wavered as long as the monarch lived, and after his death this became a hallucination that Dom João would rise from the dead to inaugurate the fifth Biblical universal monarchy under Portuguese leadership.[1] From the day of their first meeting until the King's death sixteen years later, the relationship between the two men was not so much that of monarch and vassal as that of two friends who had no secret from each other. The King never failed to consult Vieira about the most important matters of state so long as the Jesuit remained in Portugal; and when Vieira wrote to him from abroad he wrote in terms which only someone who was much more than an *eminence grise* would use. It was particularly on Brazilian problems that the king deferred to the Jesuit's advice, for so impressed was Dom João by Vieira's knowledge of the colony that he assumed he was born there.[2] The King's opinion was, incidentally, shared by many others; and Vieira found it necessary to insert a notice in the eighth volume of his *Sermoens* (published in 1694) stating that he was born at Lisbon and not at Bahia as most people seemed to think.

Vieira's influence was not limited to the monarch alone. The Spanish-born Queen, Dona Luisa de Gusmão, was another fervent admirer, and the Infante Dom Theodosio followed his parents' example. Vieira's fiery eloquence and

[1] The theory originated with the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel, II. The four preceding empires were the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman which (in the guise of the Holy Roman Empire) Vieira prolonged to his own day. Cf. *Obras Escolhidas*, ix, 1–6.

[2] "... concorrem neste Religioso tantas prendas e tantas notiçias do Estado do Brazil em que naçeo e se criou..." *Cartas de el-rei D. João IV ao conde da Vidigueira embaixador em França* (Lisboa, 1940) i, 300, letter dated 18 January 1646.

patriotic fervour, the topical nature of his sermons, and the freedom with which he lashed abuses and criticised offenders, soon made him the most popular preacher in Lisbon. "Lançar tapete de madrugada em São Roque" quickly became the seventeenth-century Lisbon equivalent of queuing for seats at dawn for the Russian Ballet in the London of 1956. His intimacy with the king and the royal family, and the fact that he was virtually acting as a minister of the Crown, naturally made him many enemies; but he could also count on the admiring friendship of the Duke of Cadaval and others among the premier nobility. His sermons were often the sounding board for government propaganda, and they still afford us an admirable mirror for the times and the society which they reflect.[1] Vieira used all his arts of eloquence and persuasion to induce the *fidalguia* and clergy to contribute more liberally to the cost of the war against Castile, and to persuade the working-classes to bear uncomplainingly the increasingly heavy burdens which were laid on them.[2]

Although not officially appointed Court-preacher until 1644, Vieira had to all intents and purposes secured this post with the sermon which he delivered before the king and court in the royal chapel on New Year's Day 1642.[3] In this, he strove to discredit the widespread belief that King Sebastian, apparently killed crusading against the

[1] As Vieira wrote in a letter dated 23 June 1683, about a sermon which he had preached in 1655, "tudo o que se estava vendo na corte e no reino se ouviu no púlpito". J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *Cartas do Padre António Vieira* (3 vols., Coimbra, 1925–1928, cited hereafter as *Cartas*), iii, 471.

[2] *Obras Escolhidas*, x, 190–264.

[3] *Obras Escolhidas*, x, 153–189. This was the first of Vieira's sermons which appeared in print, being published at Lisbon in February 1642. During his first stay in Holland, Vieira (or someone else?) had this sermon translated into Dutch and it was published anonymously and clandestinely under the title of *Translaet van seker Sermoen ofte Predicatie . . . door Pater Antonio Vieira Jesuyt* by a self-styled "lover of the common weal" ("Lief-hebber van't Gemeene Best") in 1646. It was thus the first of Vieira's sermons to be published abroad.

Moors in 1578, would return from some mysterious Alantic island where he lay enchanted like King Arthur, to resume the crown, lead Portugal against the Ottoman Turks for the recapture of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and thus inaugurate a universal Christian empire which would render obedience to the Pope. Vieira insisted that the prophecies, whether Biblical or otherwise, on which these expectations were based, applied not to King Sebastian but to King John IV. He based his arguments not only on the Book of Daniel and the more recondite parts of the Old Testament, but on the lucubrations of a rather dim Spanish Dominican saint called Fray Gil. Both Vieira and the died-in-the-wool Sebastianists whom he was trying to confute also relied heavily on the prophetic doggerel verses of the sixteenth-century cobbler of Trancoso, Gonçalo Anes Bandarra. These jingling rhymes had been banned by the Inquisition in 1541, but they attained a wide circulation in manuscript during the "Sixty Years' Captivity". They were so cryptically worded that with a little ingenuity they could be applied to almost anything. Vieira differed from the Sebastianists in his explanation of Bandarra's verses, but he agreed with them that the cobbler was a true prophet, fully entitled to as much credit as those of the Old Testament.[1]

Like many people in seventeenth-century Europe, whether Protestant or Catholic, Vieira belived that the prophetical books of the Old Testament could be largely interpreted in terms of the present and the immediate future. He had no inclination towards abstract thought, but a veritable passion for Messianic lore and Biblical commentary. He boasted that he had acted as librarian in all the Jesuit establishments in which he had served, and when abroad he made a special point of visiting the most famous European libraries, eagerly studying all the best

[1] For a recent discussion of Vieira and Sebastianism see H. Cidade, *A literatura autonomista sob os Felipes* (Lisboa, 1948), especially pp. 264–286.

books on the subjects which interested him. As the English envoy at Lisbon noted in 1668, Vieira "besides his natural eloquence has the art of making the scriptures say what he pleases",[1] and like many of his contemporaries he concentrated on the Old Testament rather than on the New. His God was in many respects the God of battles, as was perhaps inevitable with so pugnacious a personality in an age of such violent theological and confessional conflict. For instance, he concludes his New Year sermon of 1642 with the hope that the fratricidal struggle with Catholic Castile will soon cease, thus enabling the victorious Portuguese to bathe their swords in "the blood of heretics in Europe, and the blood of Muslims in Africa, the blood of heathen in Asia and in America, conquering and subjugating all the regions of the earth under one sole empire, so that they may all, under the aegis of one crown, be placed gloriously beneath the feet of the successor of Saint Peter". We may smile at such extravagances today, but Vieira was by no means the only Christian preacher to be blissfully unconscious of the incongruities in which his addiction to the Old Testament landed him. Did not the Calvinist ministers of the Scots army at Dunbar a few years later select as their battle-cry "Jesus and No Quarter!"? And did not Major-General Thomas Harrison and the Fifth Monarchy men believe that Cromwellian England was destined to play the part which Vieira assigned to Portugal?

If in his sermons Vieira appealed more frequently to the patriotism, the emotion and the imagination of his hearers than to their intelligence, the same criticism cannot be levelled at his state-papers. The depth and conviction of his messianic beliefs certainly did not affect the clarity and cogency of his reasoning on many severely practical matters. Apart from the war of independence against Castile, King John IV's principal preoccupation was the

[1] Public Record Office, SP, 89/11, fol. 206. For Vieira as a book-worm see *Obras Escolhidas*, vi, 158–159.

Dutch threat to the Portuguese colonies, and particularly to what he called his Brazilian "milch-cow". This was a subject on which Vieira had very definite if highly unpopular views. Both he and the King were convinced that Portugal could not possibly fight Spain and the United Provinces at the same time, and that peace with the Dutch must be made at any price. The upshot showed that they were wrong, but they had plenty of good reasons for their attitude, since the economic and demographic resources of the Northern Netherlands were vastly superior to those of Portugal.

Vieira may have exaggerated somewhat when he wrote that the Dutch had over 14,000 vessels which could be used as warships and a quarter of a million sailors wherewith to man them, whereas Portugal had only thirteen warships and 4,000 mariners all told, but there can be no doubt that Dutch naval superiority was crushing. Moreover, Amsterdam was the commercial capital of Europe, and the Dutch could draw freely on Germany and Scandinavia for additional manpower; whereas Portugal was a poor country which had no means of increasing the military potential of its population of about a million souls. Brazil was not the colossus which we know today, but a narrow coastal strip extending from the Amazon delta to São Vicente. This was nowhere colonised for a greater depth than thirty miles inland, save in the remote highland plateau of São Paulo in the extreme south.[1] The country was about evenly divided between the Portuguese and the Dutch, with the latter holding the northern and the richer half. The Dutch held unchallenged command of the sea, and how, Vieira argued,

[1] "Los portugueses no tẽgan entrado en esta tierra adentro en más que de 8 hasta diez leguas" wrote Duarte Gomes de Solís in 1628 (*Alegación en favor de la Compañia de la India Oriental*) [ed.] M. Bensabat Amzalak, 1955, p. 204). A similar observation was made by Manuel Fernandes Cruz, "antigo morador de Pernambuco", in 1650 (Virginia Rau & Maria Fernandes Gomes da Silva [eds.], *Os manuscritos do arquivo da casa de Cadaval respeitantes ao Brasil*, Coimbra, 1955, p. 91).

could Portugal hope to reconquer Pernambuco, when she had need of every man and ship to fight Spain, and when the combined efforts of Spain and Portugal had failed miserably in the last ten years?

Vieira's advice was that the King should try to induce the Dutch to sell their half of Brazil to the Portuguese Crown in exchange for a huge indemnity in money and sugar; but that if the Dutch insisted on retaining Pernambuco, then the King should, as a last resort, recognise their claim in return for the conclusion of a firm and lasting peace. By way of atoning for Portugal's economic and maritime weakness in the face of Dutch commercial and naval superiority, Vieira further urged the creation of two great chartered India Companies, one for the East and one for the West, after the Dutch models. As neither the Portuguese Crown nor the merchants possessed sufficient capital to found these corporations, he advised the king to attract the necessary capital by granting a fair degree of toleration to the New-Christians who formed the wealthier portion of the merchant-class, many of whom had emigrated to avoid the rigours of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.[1]

Although the king, the queen, and a few of the nobility—particularly the Portuguese envoys at Paris and the Hague—agreed with Vieira's views, the great bulk of the nation was resolutely opposed to them. When the *moradores* of Pernambuco rose against their Dutch overlords in June 1645, and were joined by Portuguese troops sent by the Governor of Bahia, Vieira argued strenuously that no support should be sent from Portugal to the insurgents, and that, on the contrary, the Dutch demands for the restitution of Pernambuco should be complied with. Public opinion was violently opposed to this appeasement policy, and equally so to any toleration of the hated New-Christians; but the king, who believed with Vieira that "war with Holland is obviously impossible and peace

[1] *Obras Escolhidas*, iv, 1–71.

absolutely necessary"[1] sent the Jesuit abroad on two confidential diplomatic missions with the object of speeding up the negotiations.

From February to July 1646, Vieira was employed (disguised as a layman in scarlet broadcloth and with a sword at his side, pointed mustachios and no tonsure) as adviser to Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, the Portuguese envoy at the Hague, in an abortive attempt to reach an agreement with the Dutch over the purchase of Pernambuco. Despite the failure of this effort, he was employed on another similar mission from August 1647 to October 1648, which this time envisaged the outright cession of Pernambuco to the Dutch. He was also ordered to ascertain the possibility of arranging a suitable French marriage for the Infante Dom Theodosio. With the renewal of the struggle with the Dutch in 1645, King John IV found Portugal's prospects so hopeless, that he was prepared to resign his throne in favour of a French son-in-law, retiring to rule an Atlantic dominion of his own in the Azores and the Maranhão. Both these projects failed, since Cardinal Mazarin flatly rejected King John's defeatist suggestion, and the cross-purposes of Dutch internal politics thwarted the desire of the powerful city of Amsterdam to reach an agreement over Pernambuco.[2]

On his way to Holland, Vieira was captured by pirates in the English Channel and landed at Dover in September 1647. He visited London to get some money to continue his voyage, but naturally his main idea was to get out of the country as quickly as possible, and in any case England was not an attractive place for an abstemious Portuguese. Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo, King John IV's Resident in London, had written to his colleague at Paris in 1646: "For five years I have not seen the sun as God made it. In

[1] *Cartas*, III, 567–568.

[2] J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *O Padre António Vieira julgado em documentos franceses* (Coimbra, 1925); *Cartas*, I, 75–258.

the winter I am shivering with cold, and in the summer I am terrified of the plague, nor have I ever met a man who was not at least half-drunk".[1] Vieira was more charitable to us than the irascible diplomat, and he cordially approved of some aspects of the Puritan Sabbath. In a sermon preached nine years later on Palm Sunday in the Maranhão, he recalled approvingly how two of his companions had been stopped from gambling in an inn at Dover. The landlord told them that it was as much as his life was worth to let them play draughts on the Lord's Day. "And this", added Vieira impressively, "in a maritime town or port, where all, without a single exception, are heretics. What a shame on us who so pride ourselves on the name of Catholics! If in a land of heretics it is sacrilege to play draughts on an ordinary Sunday, what will it be to play these or other games of chance in Holy Week, in a land where the Cross and images of Christ are worshipped, and where the mysteries of his death are celebrated".[2]

The failure of Vieira's diplomatic missions to France and Holland coincided with the crisis of the war against the Dutch in Brazil. This had gone well for the Luso-Brazilians on land, since they had driven their opponents into the shelter of Recife, Paraíba, and a few other fortified places on the Northeast coast; and they had even recaptured Angola, which was on the point of being entirely lost in August 1648. But it was a very different story by sea, for between 1 January 1647 and 31 December 1648, some 220 Portuguese ships bound to or from Brazil had been taken by Dutch privateers in the South Atlantic. No merchant-marine in the world could survive such staggering losses, and it was clear that if they continued much longer all the victories of the insurgent patriots on land would be of no ultimate avail. Brazil had no arms industry of her

[1] E. Prestage, *O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo Residente de Portugal em Londres* 1642–1646 (Lisboa, 1916), 77.

[2] *Sermoens do P. Antonio Vieira* (14 vols., Lisboa, 1679–1710), III, 308.

own, and the Luso-Brazilians could not rely indefinitely on captured weapons. If they could neither send their sugar for sale in Portugal, nor receive essential military supplies from the mother-country, then they would either have to abandon the struggle, or retire into the bush (*sertão*) and lead a half-savage life. At the end of 1648, King John IV had either to do something drastic, or else abandon Pernambuco to the stranglehold of superior Dutch sea-power.

Screwing up his courage to the sticking-point, the king decided to take Vieira's advice and to organise a great chartered company for the Brazil trade with the aid of Jewish capital. This company, formally incorporated on 8 March 1649, was to provide convoys for all shipping engaged in the Brazil trade in return for a monopoly of the chief colonial imports from the mother-country—codfish, wine, flour, and olive-oil. On Vieira's insistence, all capital invested in the Brazil Company was specifically exempted from confiscation by the Inquisition, even if the investor was found guilty of heresy, Judaism, or apostasy. This bold move was bitterly resented by many people besides the Inquisitors. In fact, only Jesuit theologians could be found to support the lawfulness of this ruling, all other civil and canon-lawyers who were consulted voting against it. The Brazil Company was equally unpopular in Brazil, owing to the monopoly prices which it charged for its imports, and the irregularity with which its convoys functioned. But this was not Vieira's fault, and he was triumphantly successful in his principal aim. Shipping was to a great extent safeguarded against the depredations of the Dutch privateers; and thanks to the co-operation of the Brazil Company's Armada, the patriots of Pernambuco were finally able to eject the Dutch from Northeast Brazil in January 1654. Well might Vieira claim forty years later that it was *his* Company which "brought always from Brazil the sinews wherewith to sustain the war against Castile, to maintain the kingdom, to recover Pernambuco,

and still today helps with prompt and lavish means in times of greatest need".[1]

If Vieira's outspoken advocacy of the hated New-Christians made him unpopular with all sorts and conditions of men, he also aroused considerable opposition in his own Society by warmly supporting King John IV's scheme to split the Jesuit Province of Portugal into two. So embarassed was the Society's headquarters at Rome by Vieira's multifarious activities, that the General resolved to dismiss him, and ordered him to seek admission to another Order. At this point King John IV intervened, and offered to present Vieira to a bishopric. When Vieira declined this honour on the ground that he would rather be a scullion in the service of the Society of Jesus than a mitred prelate outside it, the King refused to allow the General's order to be implemented. Vieira, who had taken his fourth and final vow in January 1646, thus remained in the Order to which he was so devotedly attached, as the General dropped his demand in view of the King's intransigence.[2]

From January to July 1650, Vieira was employed on a secret diplomatic mission to Rome, partly with the object of putting out feelers for a Spanish marriage with Dom Theodosio, and partly to try to add fuel to the flames of the popular revolt at Naples against the suzerainty of Spain. In neither respect was he able to achieve anything, and he was forced to leave Rome precipitately, in order to escape being assassinated by hirelings of the Spanish ambassador. This evidently blunted the edge of his keenness for diplomacy, since two years later he rejected the invitation of

[1] *Cartas*, III, 559. For Vieira's connexion with the Brazil Company see Gustavo de Freitas, *A Companhia Geral do comércio do Brasil*, 1649–1720 (São Paulo, 1951), 7–36; C. R. Boxer "Padre Antonio Vieira, S.J., and the institution of the Brazil Company in 1649", in *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, XXIX (November 1949), 474–477; Ibidem, *The Dutch in Brazil*, (Oxford, 1957), 204–212.

[2] Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal* (7 vols., in 4 tomes, Porto, 1931–1950), III (ii), 57–58; *Revista de Historia*, XI (Lisboa, 1922), 87–91.

the Count of Penaguião to accompany him as his chaplain on his embassy to Cromwellian England.

Vieira had for some time been interested in the neglected Maranhão mission-field, and in 1652 he allotted his emoluments as court-preacher to the missions of the Maranhão and Grão-Pará. His first attempt to leave for that field was thwarted by the King in 1651, but a year later the monarch changed his mind, perhaps at the instigation of some other members of the Society. Although this time Vieira was not particularly keen to go, he was sent thither by his superiors at the end of 1652, with orders to refound the Jesuit mission which had lapsed with the death of the last three missionaries in 1649.[1] On their way, Vieira's party stopped at the Cape Verde Islands for Christmas week, where he was greatly impressed by some of the indigenous clergy. "There are here", he wrote, "clergy and canons as black as jet, but so well-bred, so authoritative, so learned, such great musicians, so discreet, and so accomplished that they may well be envied by those in our own cathedrals at home". The admiration was mutual, and the islanders begged Vieira and his companions to stay there instead of going on to the Maranhão. They were seriously tempted to do so, but finally decided to leave for their proper destination, which they reached on 16 January 1653.[2]

Vieira remained in the mission-fields of the Maranhão and Grão-Pará for the next nine years, with the exception of a brief but eventful visit to Portugal (June 1654—April 1655). During all these years he displayed as much energy, zeal, and ardour in missionary work among the savages of the American rivers and jungles, as he had previously exhibited in his political activities in the European capitals and courts.

[1] *Cartas*, I, 259–290; Leite, *História*, IV, 32–41. The Estado do Maranhão, comprising Ceará, Maranhão, and Grão-Pará, had been separated from the Estado do Brazil in 1621–26, and remained a separately administered colony until 1774.

[2] Letter d. 25 December 1652 in *Cartas*, I, 294–298.

He later claimed to have travelled nearly six thousand miles either by canoe along the rivers, or on foot through jungle and bush, making converts wherever he went and confirming others in the faith. He composed catechisms in six of the many local (and exceedingly complex) Amerindian languages, and he imported many church furnishings and instruments at his own expense from Europe—not forgetting masks and rattles "to show the heathen, much addicted to their dances, that the Christian religion is not sad".[1]

Vieira's missionary efforts were both strenuous and continuous, but an even greater proportion of his remarkable energy was devoted to combating the colonists who strove to enslave the Amerindians for work in their fields and households. The colony was still very sparsely populated by white settlers. There was virtually no money in circulation, and the primitive economy was based on the interchange of local products, principally cotton, but also sugar, tobacco, and cacao. For reasons which I need not go into here, white men in the tropics have (until very recent times) always sought for coloured people to do the donkey-work for them, and the Portuguese colonists in the Maranhão were no exceptions to this rule. They were too poor to afford the cost of importing Negro slaves from West Africa, as their wealthier compatriots in Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro did. They therefore fell back on the use of Amerindian slave or forced labour, unsatisfactory in many ways as this proved to be.

The Jesuits alone among the Religious Orders in Brazil had a long tradition of upholding the freedom of the Amerindians against all the efforts of the colonists to enslave and exploit them, and Vieira soon became famous (or infamous, so far as the colonists were concerned) as their most outspoken champion. His sermons on this theme were inspired by the words of the Prophet Isiah: "Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my

[1] *Obras Escolhidas*, VI, 165–166.

people their sins".[1] Never a man to mince his words, his denunciation of the colonists at times verged on the abusive. "*M* stands for Maranhão, in the ABC of vices," he told them on one occasion: "*M* Maranhão, *M* murmurar, *M* motejar, *M* maldizer, *M* mexericar, e sobretudo, *M* mentir: mentir com as palavras, mentir com as obras, mentir com os pensamentos, que de todos e por todos os modos aqui se mente".[2] Not content with castigating the colonists in his sermons, Vieira kept the King informed of their real and alleged misdeeds in his confidential correspondence with the Crown. He did not scruple to assert that Portuguese mistreatment of the Amerindians in Amazonia had resulted in the death of over two millions of them in forty years, and his exaggerations in this respect recall those of Las Casas.[3] He was equally scathing in his condemnation of the rapacity and venality of some of the regional governors. When King John IV asked him whether the unwieldy colony should be governed by two Captain-Majors or by one Governor, Vieira replied that a single governor was preferable since one thief was a lesser evil than two.[4]

Vieira's attitude naturally made him extremely unpopular with most of the colonists and the Crown officials, to say nothing of the friars of the Mendicant Orders, with whom, as he said, he waged "continual and cruel war" over their disregard of the Amerindians' interests.[5] His enemies

[1] Isiah, LVIII, 1. Vieira's sermon of the first Sunday in Lent 1653, in *Obras Escolhidas*, xi, 108.

[2] Sermon of the fifth Sunday in Lent 1654, in *Obras Escolhidas*, xi, 129.

[3] Letter to King Affonso VI, 27 April 1657, in *Cartas*, I, 468. Cf. Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P., *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Sevilla, 1552), frequently reprinted and translated.

[4] Letter of 4 April 1654, in *Cartas*, I, 416–417, Cf. also *Sermoens*, III (ed. 1683), 333–337, and VII (1692), 320.

[5] S. Leite, S.J., *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas* (São Paulo, 1940), 297, "continua e cruel guerra, com frades, que nesta terra são mais livres, e absolutos, e mais cegos do interesse, que em muitas outras". A well documented survey of missionary activity in this region has recently been made by Fr. Mathias C. Kiemen, O.F.M., *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon region, 1614–1693* (Washington, D.C., 1954), but by and large I feel that Vieira's indictment still stands.

reacted vigorously in kind, denouncing him to Lisbon as a mischievous trouble-maker, and alleging that the Jesuits merely wished to deprive the colonists of their Amerindian labourers in order to exploit them for their own purposes. King John IV sympathised with Vieira, but he could not afford to ignore entirely the protests of the colonists and the friars. The laws which were framed at Lisbon to protect the Amerindians were thus inevitably of a compromise character which satisfied neither party to the dispute. Vieira reluctantly accepted them as better than nothing, although he declared later that it would be a lesser evil for the whole colony to collapse rather than exist on Amerindian slave-labour.[1] On an earlier occasion he advanced the scarcely less heretical view that the colonists should perform the necessary manual labour themselves rather than rely on their Amerindian "hands and feet" as they called them. "For it is better to live by the sweat of one's own brow", he wrote, "than by another's blood".[2]

Some admirers of Vieira have also claimed him as a pioneer abolitionist of Negro slavery, but this claim cannot be substantiated. Unlike the great Las Casas, who, after first condoning Negro slavery later unreservedly condemned it, Vieira limited himself to denouncing the sadistic ill-treatment of Negro slaves by many of their owners. In one of his earliest sermons he compared the sufferings of the Negroes in the sugar-mills at harvest-time to those of Christ upon the Cross; but he adjured the slaves if not exactly to "grin and bear it" at any rate to pray and bear it, assuring them that this Christian resignation would be suitably recompensed in Paradise. Admittedly, his condemnation of their treatment became stronger in later life, as can be seen by comparing the sermon preached to the masters and slaves of an *engenho* in the Reconcavo in 1633, with that

[1] "como se não fora menos mal o perder-se que conservar-se por meios tão injustos e abomináveis". *Resposta* of *c.* 1668, in *Obras Escolhidas*, V, 317.
[2] *Obras Escolhidas*, xi, 113–114.

delivered in similar circumstances some fifty years later.[1] But even this last sermon, which lashes the cruelty and callousness of the *senhores de engenho*, does not imply that the enslavement of Negroes was necessarily wrong in itself. Not that Vieira believed in any theory of a master-race, or in the innate superiority of the white man over the coloured. "Can there be", he asked in his celebrated Epiphany sermon of 1662, "a greater want of understanding, or a greater error of judgment between men as men, than for me to think that I must be your master because I was born further away from the sun, and that you must be my slave because you were born nearer to it?" And again: "An Ethiope if he be cleansed in the waters of the Zaire [Congo] is clean, but he is not white; but if in the water of baptism, he is both". This did not prevent Vieira from arguing to the end of his days that the freedom of the Amerindians could best be secured by increasing the importation of Negro slaves from West Africa. In this respect, Vieira's views were far less advanced than those of his Spanish precursors and contemporaries, the Dominicans Las Casas and Mercado, and the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval, whose vitriolic denunciations of the slave-trade and its attendant evils were more far-reaching.[2]

Vieira's preoccupation with the freedom of the Amerindians during his nine years in the Maranhão and

[1] Obras Escolhidas, xi, 1–95. Although the second of these sermons is listed as being "pregado na Bahia em data incerta", it must have been delivered after Vieira's return to the colony in 1681, since it refers to such events as the capture of Cochim by the Dutch in 1663.
[2] S. Leite, S.J., in his efforts to palliate the attitude of Vieira and the Luso-Brazilian Jesuits to the Negro slave-trade (cf. pp. 7–14 of his edition of Jorge Benci, *Economia Cristã dos senhores no governo dos escravos*, Porto, 1954), deliberately ignores the weighty testimony of Sandoval's *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana de todos Etiopes* (Sevilla, 1627). As can be seen by any unprejudiced reader of Vieira's own writings, the latter repeatedly pressed for the expansion of the West-African slave-trade as the best means of freeing the Amerindians without damaging the colonists' economic interests. Cf. *Obras Escolhidas*, v, 299, 308, 318, for typical examples.

Grão-Pará did not prevent him from developing his ideas about Portugal's future as the fifth world-monarchy, which became a fixed obsession with him after the death of King John IV in 1656. This belief was closely connected with his intense conviction that Portugal "has for its particular and special end the propagation and extension of the Catholic faith in heathen lands, for which purpose God raised and founded it. And the more that Portugal acts in keeping with this end, the more sure and certain is its preservation; and the more it diverges therefrom, the more doubtful and dangerous is its future".[1]

His belief in Portugal as the fifth universal monarchy was greatly strengthened by his own experience in the wilds of South America. He remarked on the exiguous number of missionaries who, even in the most favourable circumstances, would be available for evangelising the teeming millions of three continents; and he stressed the virtual impossibility of catechising hostile cannibals armed with poisoned arrows, who would let no one approach them in the depths of the Amazonian jungle. From these premises he argued that the conversion of the world to Christianity could not possibly be expected from the labours of a few thousand European missionaries, however devoted. It must await the direct intervention of God, working through his chosen kindom of Portugal, the fifth great universal monarchy, as prophesied in the Old Testament and in the *Trovas* of Bandarra.[2]

Vieira's most spectacular success as a missionary was his conversion of the savage Nheengaíbas on the island of Marajó in the Amazon estuary. This feat was all the more remarkable as these islanders had always been exceedingly hostile to the Portuguese and on friendly terms with the Dutch. The triumph was particularly Vieira's own, as the

[1] Letter to King Affonso VI, 20 April 1657, in *Cartas*, I, 470. Cf. also *Cartas*, III, 516, and *Sermoens*, II (ed. 1682), 126–146.
[2] *Obras Escolhidas*, vi, xli–xlii.

savages refused to communicate in the first place with anyone save himself—the *Payagassú*, or "Padre Grande" as they called him, both on account of his tall stature and the confidence which his character inspired. Their conversion was all the more welcome as otherwise the Dutch, who had declared war on Portugal two years previously, could easily have established themselves there and overrun both Pará and the Maranhão in short order.[1]

Although the colonists realised that possession of Marajó gave them the strategic key to Amazonia, they could not forgive Vieira his championship of the Amerindians; and Vieira, after his resounding success at Marajó, was less than ever inclined to compromise with the colonists. King John IV had died in November 1656, and although the Queen-Regent was likewise his ardent supporter, she did not, as a woman and a widow, inspire the same respect in the rough frontiersmen of the Maranhão. Encouraged by the weakness or duplicity of the regional governor, Dom Pedro de Mello, and allegedly egged on by some of the friars, the *moradores* of the Maranhão tumultuously arrested the local Jesuits, and their example was soon followed by the settlers of Pará. Vieira and his companions were in some danger of being manhandled if not lynched, but eventually they were deported to Portugal in September 1661.

On his enforced return to Lisbon, Vieira was at first received with sympathy and favour at Court; but the palace-revolution of June 1662, which relegated the Queen-Regent to a convent and brought the Count of Castel-Melhor to power, likewise resulted in the downfall of the Jesuit. He had long been an object of dislike and suspicion to the Holy Office, partly on account of his

[1] *Cartas*, I, 549–571. This was the first of Vieira's writings other than a sermon to be printed, since it appeared under the title of *Copia de huma carta para ElRey N. Senhor. Sobre as missões do Searâ, do Maranham, do Pará & do grande rio das Almasónas* (Lisboa, 1660).

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messianic beliefs, but mainly because of his outspoken advocacy of toleration for the New-Christians. He was arraigned by this tribunal at Coimbra for a lengthy disquisition entitled *Esperanças de Portugal, quinto imperio do mundo, primeira e segunda vida de El-rei D. João o quarto* which he had composed in Amazonia, and in which he affirmed his conviction that Bandarra was a true prophet and that King John IV would rise from the dead to inaugurate the conquest of the world by Portugal. Though suffering from very poor health at this period, he defended himself with great skill and pertinacity for two years, but was finally sentenced to be deprived of his faculties for preaching and to be imprisoned in a Jesuit House. With the object of inflicting additional humiliation on him and on the Society of Jesus, the lengthy judgment and sentence were read out in the crowded hall of the Jesuit College at Coimbra on Christmas Eve 1667. When Vieira stood up to hear this rigmarole, all the assembled Jesuits likewise rose to their feet and remained standing throughout the proceedings which lasted for more than two hours. They thus demonstrated their sympathy with him and by implication their opposition to the Holy Office.[1]

Many people thought that Vieira was lucky to have escaped the stake, and the relative lightness of his sentence was evidently due to the fact that the final stages of his trial coincided with another palace-revolution which overthrew the dictatorship of Castel-Melhor and brought his friends to power. Vieira was speedily released from his confinement, but although reappointed court-preacher, he did not find the same grace and favour in the eyes of the Prince-Regent, Dom Pedro, as he had in those of his father. Disappointed that his old influence at Court was gone, he left for Rome in August 1669, partly to plead his own cause there, and partly to help that of the

[1] *Obras Escolhidas*, vi ("Vieira perante a Inquisição") contains the relevant documents.

New-Christians by securing some mitigation of the savage rigour with which they were treated by the Portuguese branch of the Holy Office. He obtained from the Pope a Brief which explicitly exempted him from the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Inquisition, but his efforts to secure a drastic reform of the barbarous procedure of this institution were unsuccessful in the long run.[1] Nevertheless, they led to the Pope imposing a seven-year suspension of all inquisitorial trials and *autos-da-fé* in Portugal while the matter was being debated, and thus no victims were burned at the stake between 1674 and 1681.[2]

Vieira enjoyed as much renown as an orator at Rome, where he preached in both Portuguese and Italian, as he did at Lisbon. He became the favourite preacher of that formidable blue-stocking, Queen Christina of Sweden, and of the Jesuit General, Oliva, who was himself a famous orator. Finally disillusioned with the prospect of obtaining toleration for the New-Christians, and full of *saudades* for his native land, that "cantinho da Europa, mas cantinho de terra pura e mimosa de Deus" as he called it in one of his Roman sermons, he resolved at length to return to Lisbon. He went by way of France, sailing from La Rochelle in the English frigate *Portsmouth*, in company with the Duke of Cadaval's thirteen-year old French bride in August 1675.[3] Once back in Lisbon, Dom Pedro gave him every encouragement to publish the collected edition of his *Sermoens*, the first volume of which appeared in 1679; but the Prince-Regent still declined to treat Vieira as a confidential adviser, to the latter's unconcealed annoyance. Asked to return to Rome as confessor to Queen Christina, Vieira declined on the plea of ill-health, asking instead to

[1] The Papal Brief of 17 April 1675 is printed in Portuguese translation in *Obras Escolhidas*, vi, 246–250.

[2] J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *História dos Christãos-Novos Portugueses* (Lisboa, 1921), 310–321.

[3] See Appendix below for a contemporary English account of Vieira's return to Lisbon.

be sent once more as a missionary to the Maranhão. When this was turned down on account of his advanced age, he decided to go back to Bahia, which he had left forty years previously, and to end his days amid the beautiful Brazilian scenery he loved so well.

He sailed for Bahia January 1681, and there he remained until his death sixteen years later. His natural pugnacity was little abated in his old age, and he was involved in several bitter quarrels with some of his colleagues, and on one occasion with the Governor-General. He served as Visitor-General of the Brazil and Maranhão missions in 1688–91, and he continued to forward the cause of the Amerindians with all his old zest and conviction, if at times with a trifle more tact. His whole-hearted sympathy for the Amerindians was not always matched by a corresponding cordiality towards the Brazilian Creoles or *Mazombos*. Although he called Brazil his "segunda patria", and jokingly referred to himself as a *Mazombo*, and although he advocated the establishment of a seminary in the Maranhão for training the sons of the colonists as missionaries, in his old age he wrote a scathing denunciation of the Brazilian members of the Society, arguing that they were not the equals of the European-born Portuguese.[1] On the other hand, he loaded his own countrymen with scornful abuse on several occasions,[2] and more than once criticised the short-sighted selfishness with which the home government sometimes treated Brazil. Despite these periodic outbursts of not always righteous indignation, Vieira's correspondence ranging over seventy years shows time and again how sincerely he loved his country on both sides of the Altantic, "all earthly things above".

Vieira's physical health declined rapidly in his last three

[1] *Revista de História*, XI (Lisboa, 1922), 105–106; F. Rodrigues, S.J., *História*, III (ii), 185–187.

[2] *Obras Escolhidas*, I, ciii, for some choice specimens of Vieiran invective against the "Cafres de Europa", as Vieira called his compatriots in moments of exasperation.

years, but his intelligence remained unimpaired. Though nearly ninety years of age, almost totally blind, and partly paralysed, he continued to correspond with his friends at Lisbon, who included the Dowager Queen Catherine of Great Britain. He also continued to work on his *Clavis Prophetarum*, an enormous codex of Biblical exegesis, with the aid of various amanuenses. The ship which carried the news of his death to Lisbon, also brought letters dictated by him a week before he died in his cell at the Jesuit College of Bahia, at one o'clock in the morning of 18 July 1697.

João Lucio d'Azevedo, Vieira's best biographer, entitled his final chapter on Vieira's last sixteen years at Bahia, *O Vencido*, "The Vanquished". This seems to me to be a misnomer. Vieira died at the height of his literary fame, with his sermons still being regularly published and eagerly read. His renown reached as far as Mexico, where he was officially honoured by the University, and politely criticised by the celebrated Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.[1] He was the acknowledged master of Portuguese prose in his lifetime, and, unlike the case with most great authors, his fame did not undergo even a temporary eclipse after his death. Indeed, English is the only major European language which lacks a representative translation of Vieira's works. As regards the Luso-Brazilian world, Dom Francisco Alexandre Lobo merely expressed the feeling of successive generations when he wrote in 1823: "Se o uso da nossa língua se perder, e com ele por acaso acabarem todos os nossos escritos, que não são 'Os Lusiadas' e as obras de Vieira: o português, quer no estilo da prosa, quer no poético, ainda viverá na sua perfeita índole natíva, na sua riquíssima cópia e louçania".[2]

[1] Robert Ricard, *António Vieira et Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Coimbra, 1948).

[2] D. Francisco Alexandre Lobo, Bishop of Viseu, *Discurso Histórico e Critico ácerca do Padre Antonio Vieira e das suas obras* (Coimbra, 1823).

If Vieira's battle for the New-Christians had ended in defeat, his struggle for the freedom of the Amerindians had not, even if the final victory had to wait until the dictatorship of Pombal, who blackened Vieira's memory while carrying out (in many respects) his policies. If some of his cherished plans, such as the foundation of an East-India Company, met with a cool reception at Court, his advice was still heard with respect on other matters. It was largely due to his representations that various Indian spices were transplanted to Bahia before the end of the century,[1] and that a colonial mint was established there in 1694.[2]

Vieira was nothing if not a bonny fighter, but he had the defects of his pugnacious temperament. He did not suffer fools—or friars—gladly, although he remarked resignedly on more than one occasion that even Our Lord with all his miracles had never cured anyone of folly.[3] We may smile—or yawn—today at some of Vieira's oratorical flights, and wonder at his credulous—some would say cretinous—belief in Portugal as the fifth universal monarchy. But these chimeras served to encourage many people in the dark days of the war with Spain and Holland, and in any case (as noted above) they never interfered with his grasp of practical matters and the commonsense advice which he gave on numerous occasions. Above all, in an age when anti-Semitism raged with a virulence only surpassed in our own day and generation, Vieira's fearless championship of the New-Christians marks him out as a truly admirable man. António Vieira may not have been what King John IV called him, "the greatest man in the world", but he is entitled to an honoured place not only in the history of Portugal and Brazil but in the story of Western civilisation.

[1] *Cartas*, III, 464, 467, 559–560, 592; Southey, *History*, II, 671–673.
[2] S. Leite, S.J., *História*, VII, 86.
[3] "... pois se observa no Evangelho que, curando Cristo todos os géneros de enfermidades e ressuscitando mortos, a nenhum doido sarou" (*Cartas*, II, 664); "entre os milagres de Cristo nenhum se lê que curasse de doidices" (*Cartas*, III, 468).

APPENDIX

Dispatch of Francis Parry, Lisbon 10 *September* 1675, *to the Secretary of State.*[1]

"All the news that I have to trouble Your Honour with by this post is that Antonio Vieira, the Jesuit that hath been the Jews' prime solicitor at Rome, is arrived here. Besides the general hatred of the Jesuits against the Inquisition, wherein this Vieira, as a member of that Society must have a share, he has a particular quarrel against that Tribunal for imprisoning him for some false or scandalous doctrines that he preached, which makes him do his utmost to procure the abatement of the great power and authority of the Inquisitors. And lest they should in the meantime, or at any time hereafter, question him for anything he has said or done on behalf of the Jews or on any other occasion, he has brought with him a *Carta de seguro* from the Pope, the largest of the kind being a Bull[2] to forbid the Inquisition to call him to account for anything past, present, or to come. His presence gives great trouble to most people, for being as plausible as he is turbulent, 'tis feared he will cause great imbroils whether he succeeds in his main design or not, for if the Prince should grant the Jews' demands, the Inquisition no doubt would stir up the people to mutiny; if he should not grant them, this Jesuit and his companions would do it, so that the Court is full of perplexities about this matter. Those that favour the Jews pretend to do it for the good of the commonwealth, those that do not, for the good of the Church. The Pope has suspended his resolution till he shall have heard what the Bishop of Lamego, who is now preparing to go Ambassador

[1] PRO London, SP 89/13, fol. 113. Unpublished. Parry was Envoy at Lisbon, 1668–1680.
[2] Actually a Brief dated 17 April 1675. Cf. *Obras Escolhidas*, VI, 246–250.

to Rome on this errand, can say on behalf of the Inquisition against the Jews. The Jesuit Vieira took his journey from Rome through France, and came from Rochelle in the *Portsmouth* frigate that brought the Duchess of Cadaval. I am told the Duke came off very nobly with the captain, but of the particulars or of anything relating to the voyage I can say nothing, the captain not vouchsafing to visit me during his seven days here.[1] When I went to congratulate the Duke, he acknowledged with abundance of grateful expressions the great obligations he had for His Majesty."

[1] Vieira reached Lisbon on 23 August after an eight-day voyage (*Cartas*, III, 193).

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